

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 03165 01 OF 02 202329Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 NSCE-00 USIE-00 DHA-05 SSO-00 INRE-00 /077 W
-----047555 210008Z /72

O 202222Z SEP 77

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5516
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 3165

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, UNSC, RH
SUBJ: RHODESIA: YOUNG MEETING WITH TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER
MKAPA SEPTEMBER 20

1. SUMMARY. AMBASSADOR YOUNG MET WITH TANZANIAN FOREIGN
MINISTER MKAPA AND PERMREP SALIM SEPTEMBER 19 TO ENLIST THEIR
SUPPORT FOR THE UK SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON SENDING A
UN REPRESENTATIVE TO RHODESIA. THE TANZANIANS EXPRESSED
THE SUPPORT OF THEIR GOVERNMENT FOR THE RESOLUTION AND FOR
THE OVERALL WHITE PAPER PROPOSAL BUT THEY CAUTIONED, AS
SALIM HAD THE PREVIOUS WEEK, THAT THE PATH TOWARD THE
SECURITY COUNCIL VOTE MUST BE CAREFULLY PREPARED. IN PAR-
TICULAR, AFRICAN STATES AND SC MEMBERS MUST MORE CLEARLY
UNDERSTAND THE MANDATE FOR THE REPRESENTATIVE, ITS LIMITA-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 03165 01 OF 02 202329Z

TIONS AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE OVERALL SET OF PROPOSALS.
IT WAS AGREED THAT FRONT LINE FOREIGN MINISTERS PRESENT
IN NEW YORK AND FRONT LINE PERM REPS PLUS NIGERIA WOULD
MEET WITH AMBASSADORS RICHARD AND YOUNG ON WEDNESDAY
MORNING, SPETEMBER 21. FOLLOWING THAT, FRONT LINE MINISTERS
WOULD BRIEF THEIR OAU COLLEAGUES IN NEW YORK, THUS PAVING
THE WAY FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL VOTE POSSIBLY AS EARLY AS

FRIDAY, SEPT. 23. END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR YOUNG OPENED THE MEETING BY DESCRIBING THE LIMITED UK/US OBJECTIVES IN ASKING FOR SECURITY COUNCIL APPROVAL FOR SENDING A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO RHODESIA. HE NOTED THAT THE REACTION OF THE FRONT LINE STATES WAS CRITICAL TO THE SUCCESS OF THE RESOLUTION. EVEN THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR, TROYANOVSKY, HAD SAID THAT THE USSR WOULD FOLLOW THE LEAD OF THE FRONT LINE STATES.

3. FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE FRONT LINE STATES COULD TAKE A POSITIVE POSITION ON THE PROPOSAL AND THAT WOULD HELP IT, BUT "THERE IS ONLY SO MUCH WE CAN DO". IN REFERENCE TO HIS RECENT CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER FRONT LINE STATES' FOREIGN MINISTERS, MKAPA REPORTED GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE OVERALL WHITE PAPER PROPOSAL. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT HIS RECENT DISCUSSIONS HAD NOT CONCENTRATED ON THE IMMEDIATE CONCRETE STEPS THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN TO BEGIN ITS IMPLEMENTATION. MORE CONSULTATIONS WERE NEEDED WITH HIS FELLOW FRONT-LINE FOREIGN MINISTERS IN REGARD TO THE BRITISH RESOLUTION. THESE SAME FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD ALSO HAVE TO EXPLAIN THEIR POSITION TO OTHER OAU MEMBERS WHO HAD BEEN LEFT OUT OF DELIBERATIONS SO FAR. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION, MKAPA SAID THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT THE POSITION OF

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 03165 01 OF 02 202329Z

THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WAS NOW. HE HAD NOT TALKED TO THEM SINCE THEY ISSUED THEIR STATEMENT ON THE WHITE PAPER PROPOSALS. MKAPA DID SAY THAT THE FRONT LINE FOREIGN MINISTERS HAD MADE IT PLAIN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS THAT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR A SETTLEMENT WAS NOW THEIRS ON BOTH THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY FRONTS. MKAPA SAID HE HAD CLEARLY TOLD PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS THAT TANZANIA DOES SEE A POSITIVE ROLE FOR THE UN IN RHODESIA.

4. MKAPA EMPHASIZED THAT THE US AND UK MUST DO THEIR HOMEWORK IN MORE FULLY EXPLAINING TO SC MEMBERS THEIR RESOLUTION AND ITS RELATION TO THE OVERALL UK/US PROPOSAL. IN DESCRIBING POSSIBLE TANZANIAN SUPPORTIVE ACTIONS, MKAPA SAID THAT, "OUR CONVICTIONS ARE ONE THING, BUT DEALING SUCCESSFULLY IN THE UN ENVIRONMENT IS QUITE ANOTHER".

5. ON THE SUBJECT OF WHO MIGHT BE NAMED AS THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPRESENTATIVE, MKAPA SAID THAT WHILE HE HAD NOT FORMALLY CONSIDERED THIS ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM, HE DID NOT THINK THE COMBINATION OF A BRITISH FIELD MARSHALL AND AN INDIAN GENERAL WOULD BE

THE VERY BEST SOLUTION, I.E. THAT IT WOULD BE TOO
"BRITISH".

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 03165 02 OF 02 202355Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 NSCE-00 USIE-00 DHA-05 SSO-00 INRE-00 /077 W
-----047861 210008Z /72

O 202222Z SEP 77

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5517
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
RUEHOTGNXAMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE 2931

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 3165

6. MKAPA THEN SAID THAT STRONG BRITISH INSISTENCE THAT
THEIR PROPOSAL WAS LIMITED LED HIM AND OTHERS TO QUESTION
WHY A SC MEETING WAS NECESSARY AT ALL. IN ANSWER,
AMBASSADOR YOUNG NOTED THAT SECRETARY-GENERAL WALDHEIM
REQUIRED THIS KIND OF BACKING. YOUNG SAID THAT DIS-
CUSSIONS ABOUT THE DETAILS OF A CEASEFIRE MUST START
WELL IN ADVANCE SINCE NO ONE, NOT EVEN THE GUERRILLA
LEADERS, UNDERSTOOD THE MILITARY SITUATION. MKAPA THEN
EXPRESSED DOUBTS THAT THE DEBATE ON THE BRITISH RESOLU-
TION COULD BE KEPT LIMITED SINCE ANY DISCUSSION OF THE
POSSIBILITIES OF A CEASEFIRE MUST BE BASED ON SOME
PROJECTION OF AN OVERALL INTENDED SOLUTION. AMBASSADOR
YOUNG THEN OUTLINED WHAT THE THOUGHT WOULD BE A DESIR-
ABLE SECNARIO FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING:

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 03165 02 OF 02 202355Z

- FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN WOULD MAKE THE PROPOSAL;
- AN AFRICAN COUNTRY ON THE COUNCIL WOULD SECOND IT;
- DEBATE WOULD BE LIMITED; AND
- THE RESOLUTION WOULD BE ADOPTED BY VOICE VOTE.

AMBASSADOR YOUNG REPEATED THAT THE REPRESENTATIVE WOULD BE SENT TO RHODESIA ONLY TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITIES OF A CEASEFIRE AND IF HE DID NOT COME BACK WITH A CONVINCING SCENARIO FOR A CEASEFIRE, THEN ON ONE WOULD BE OBLIGATED TO VOTE FOR ADDITIONAL PARTS OF THE PACKAGE.

7. PERM REP SALIM THEN REAFFIRMED THAT THE REACTIONS OF THE FRONT LINE STATES TO THE INITIAL PROPOSAL WERE POSITIVE BUT THE QUESTION REMAINED HOW TO ACHIEVE SUCCESS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. SALIM DID NOT THINK THAT IT WAS A GOOD IDEA TO HAVE AN AFRICAN STATE NOT A MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THE PROPOSAL IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL -- THE RESOLUTION SHOULD BE KEPT AS MUCH A PROCEDURAL QUESTION AS POSSIBLE. THE THREE AFRICAN STATES IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD KNOW THE FRONT-LINE STATE POSITION WELL ENOUGH.

8. SALIM STRESSED THAT THE FORMULATION OF THE BRITISH RESOLUTION MUST BE CAREFULLY BUT INFORMALLY NEGOTIATED IN ADVANCE WITH SC STATES. IT WAS CLEAR, HE SAID, THAT THE CEASEFIRE WOULD NOT TAKE PLACE IN A VACUUM BUT ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OVERALL PROPOSALS. THE UK AND US MUST DRAW THE LINE BETWEEN A LIMITED ROLE ENVISAGED IN THIS RESOLUTION AND THE WHOLE PACKAGE. PERHAPS A TIME LIMIT FOR THE UN REP'S ROLE WOULD BE IN ORDER. "IN SHORT," SAID SALIM, "YOU MUST BE MORE SPECIFIC ON THE MANDATE OF THE REP AS YOU TRY TO ENLIST SUPPORT FOR

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 03165 02 OF 02 202355Z

YOUR RESOLUTION. YOU MUST OUTLINE THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS AS YOU SEE THEM. YOU CANNOT START WITH THE PREMISE THAT EVERYTHING IS NON-NEGOTIABLE AND LEAVE IT AT THAT."

9. SALIM ADDED AS AN ASIDE THAT ONE OF THE BEST THINGS GOING FOR THE NEW PROPOSALS WAS THE HOPE PLACED BY AFRICAN STATES IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION TOWARD AFRICA. THERE WAS, HE SAID, NO FAITH IN AFRICA IN THE UK.

10. IN CONCLUSION, AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA AGREED ON THE FOLLOWING SCENARIO FOR THIS WEEK:

(A) FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA AND HIS FRONT-LINE COLLEAGUES WOULD MEET SEPT. 20 TO DISCUSS THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION.

(B) MKAPA, FOREIGN MINISTERS MWALE (ZAMBIA) AND MOGWE (BOTSWANA) AND THE PERM REPS OF ALL FIVE FRONT-LINE STATES PLUS NIGERIA WOULD MEET WITH AMBASSADORS RICHARD AND YOUNG AT 10:30 WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 21, AT THE UN. THE MEETING WOULD BE CALLED AT THE REQUEST OF THE UK/US.

(C) FRONT-LINE STATES' FOREIGN MINISTERS AND REPS WOULD THEN TALK FURTHER WITH THEIR OAU COLLEAGUES.

(D) AMBASSADORS RICHARD AND YOUNG WOULD CONTACT ALL SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS BEFORE THE END OF THE WEEK.

11. COMMENT. THIS COULD PAVE THE WAY FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON THE RESOLUTION AS EARLY AS FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.
YOUNG

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: LOBBYING, PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, UNSC RESOLUTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 20-Sep-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977USUNN03165
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770342-0524
Format: TEL
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770941/aaaabixg.tel
Line Count: 246
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 0c818741-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1201257
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA: YOUNG MEETING WITH TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA SEPTEMBER 20
TAGS: PORG, RH, TZ, UK, US, UNSC, (MKAPA, BENJAMIN), (YOUNG, ANDREW)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/0c818741-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009